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***SOCIOLOGY
AND THE
UNRECOGNIZED WORKER***

Presented by
The National Labor Federation

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SOCIOLOGY AND THE UNRECOGNIZED WORKER

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Sociology and the
unrecognized worker

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PREFACE

It is with great pleasure that **SOCIOLOGY AND THE UNRECOGNIZED WORKER**, in its third printing, is again offered to the public. This document was originally presented by the National Labor Federation before the 1976 National Convention of the American Sociological Association and the Society for the Study of Social Problems. This most recent edition has been expanded to include more recent information. This document and its presentation were enthusiastically received, particularly in the sociology profession. It contributed to the development of a new organizational creation within the profession, dedicated to the support and aid of the various struggles of the estimated 47 million unrecognized workers in the United States, through the provision of alternative resources, i.e., alternative to the traditional governmental monies which have thus far hurt, more than helped, the plight of the working poor and the non-working poor. The **SOCIOLOGISTS COMMITTEE ON ALTERNATIVE RESOURCES (SCAR)** currently enjoys the support of almost 2,000 sociologists, and has held a series of regional meetings in the Northeast. SCAR participants have provided a veritable litany of aid, including field placements for students, fund raising, cars, written documentation and speaking engagements.

SOCIOLOGY AND THE UNRECOGNIZED WORKER, has been increasingly utilized by sociologists, social workers, historians, philosophers, and other related professionals as well as interested citizens, to understand and to help those they teach in understanding the complex system by which a major portion of the workforce is excluded from the most basic labor rights, and human rights and ability to survive, and how this situation has devastating consequences for the wages and organizing capacity of other workers and groupings within our society. In addition, examples

are drawn from successful experiences of organizing efforts of unrecognized workers in various parts of the country.

The National Labor Federation (NATLFED) is an organization of small worker associations encompassing over 20 organizing drives in various parts of the United States. Organizing drives exist in Oakland, Sacramento, Santa Cruz, Orange County, San Diego and Redding, California under the auspices of the Western Service Workers Association, on Long Island and in Binghamton and Wayne County, New York under the auspices of the Eastern Farm Workers Association, in New Brunswick, Princeton, Atlantic City, New Jersey; Rochester, Albany, Buffalo, New York; Baltimore, Maryland; Philadelphia under the auspices of the Eastern Service Workers Association, Medford and Eugene, Oregon under the Northwest Seasonal Workers Association, in Massachusetts, under the Western Massachusetts Labor Alliance and in many other areas. They are dedicated to the organization of the approximately 47 million unrecognized workers in the United States so far excluded from any of the somewhat dubious benefits of the National Labor Relations Act.

Since 1972, the associations have grown, expanded, and have organized masses of formerly unorganized workers into new types of organizations, supported in their activities by the commitment of hundreds of full-time organizers who, incidentally, are not salaried, and thousands of volunteers. This paper is dedicated to those who work and live under some of the most deplorable conditions existing in America. Its purpose is to bring to light theory, concepts and methods now existing in America. It is being used, hopefully, to bring a better light to our people. We are presenting SOCIOLOGY AND THE UNRECOGNIZED WORKER as an up-to-date culmination of our experiences, research and theoretical reflections. We believe it will not only be useful for the development of sociological knowledge, but more importantly in organizing these people.

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SOCIOLOGY AND THE UNRECOGNIZED WORKER: INTRODUCTION

There is a vast stratum of unorganized workers in this country who suffer from low wages, lack of benefits, and high job insecurity. A major portion of these are UNRECOGNIZED workers who exist outside of the jurisdiction of the national labor laws.¹ Their number has recently grown and is approaching fifty million. These workers include farm workers, domestic workers, independent contractors, workers in small shops and in business and service arenas, and the unemployed and welfare recipients who are increasingly being forced into point of production arenas. The National Labor Relations Act and the various Public Employee Bargaining Acts exclude them from coverage.

In addition, the UNRECOGNIZED worker stratum, or properly defined as strata, because they are numerous and still to a certain extent sociologically undefined, include workers who may fall under national labor legislation and other bodies of law, but who remain unorganized because their work situation is not legally amenable to the organizing practices currently allowed by law to traditional trade unions. These strata include various elements and categories of part-time, temporary, seasonal, casual, and government work program employees, some so-called independent contractors, and employees from periphery jobs growing up around "phenomena industry," e.g. the so-called feeder plant system.² The number of workers falling into the UNRECOGNIZED worker strata is growing astronomically as a result of current so-called decentralization solutions carried out by both the private and governmental sectors in order to maintain their position of dominance within the present economic system.³

There has been little, if any, clinical or analytical attention paid by sociologists to the UNRECOGNIZED worker stratum, although it constitutes possibly the most massive category of poor, low wage, and deprived workers in the United States, if not in the entire advanced industrial sector of the world. There has been little or no study of the historical development of these strata, either of shifts in their size and composition or their relation to the other strata in the working class, such as governmental, industrial, and service workers. In addition, in the past decade, there has been a dearth of sociological analysis of organizing efforts and practices which have been designed to address the needs of the UNRECOGNIZED worker stratum.

Sociology's approach to stratification has greatly inhibited its ability to concentrate its analysis on what is becoming the largest and the poorest portion of the working class.⁴ Sociological approaches have traditionally differentiated strata in relation to the elements of class, status, and power. Such delineations, whether they be based in relation to production, political efficacy, or culture and life style differences, are primarily static, descriptive categories.

The analysis of stratification in relation to change demands a much more dynamic understanding of strata in relation to the motion which may be generated through active organizational work within the strata. New methods appear to be necessary in delineating strata, in addition to the present ones, so that change-oriented activity becomes a point of address for analysis. The analysis of stratification in relation to change demands an attempt at delineation of strata categories relevant to organizing and its goals. The goal which assures the usefulness and necessity of uniting various strata of the working class to develop maximum strength in relation to an adversary, either tangible or intangible, indicates the need for several lines of thought, variables, and empirical data which should be explored. These include:

1. An analysis of the process of restratification, both as a result of private and governmental socio-economic policies for purely economic purposes and/or as a response to the successful or unsuccessful efforts at organizing various work strata.

2. An analysis of the legal frameworks which are used to benefit and/or deprive various strata of the working class of organizational ability in relation to the organizing goal, and which create various legal status categories which enhance or inhibit organizational possibilities.

3. An analysis of economic, social, and legal mechanisms which separate and intertwine various stratum to one another, for purposes of decreasing strata organizing potential and collective strength, and how the organization of one stratum effects other strata in the working class.

4. An analysis of strata as to where the least and most viable contradictions are found in relation to both economic deprivation and organizing potential.

5. An analysis of the relationship among various strata of the working class to various other strata such as small business persons and professionals.

6. An analysis of which strata arenas are either least or most accessible to corporate and governmental control in relation to inhibiting or enhancing organizing potential.

Analysis of these questions and others would be of extraordinary use to organizations seeking change. The following analysis illustrates general guidelines, examples, and concrete approaches which have been developed by the National Labor Federation and which are offered as points of address to sociologists for an analytic and clinical study of these questions.

RESTRATIFICATION AND THE UNRECOGNIZED WORKER⁵

The proposition which assumes that there is unilateral movement in our society toward increased skill specialization, increased mechanization, or increased centralization of the working class because of growing industrialization, is incomplete, if not partially incorrect. In addition, there are trends in the opposite direction toward renewed unskilled occupations, less education, and increased decentralization of labor. These trends occur at various times and in different ways in the lower and higher strata of the working class. Many of the changing trends are a result of the tactical responses employed by the private and governmental sectors toward successful or partly successful worker organization and concomitant wage increases and strike capability. Therefore, collectivization or decollectivization at the workplace itself, is a concept in motion: in part, a response to tactics or organizing on the part of the workers.

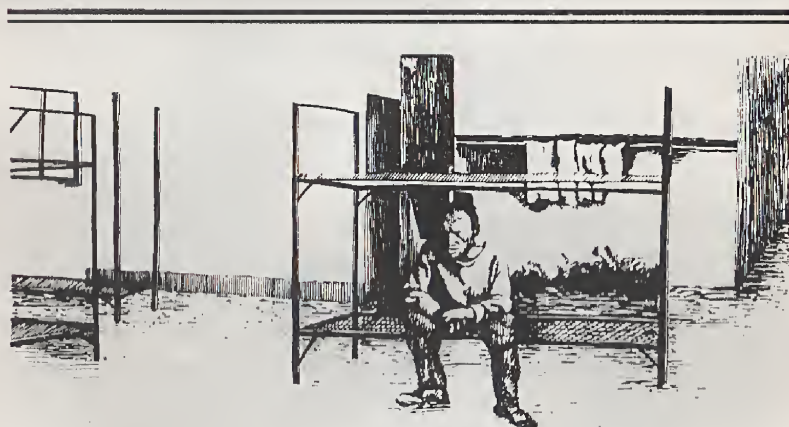


In the domestic worker arena, for example, atomization and separation of the work force has been the historical tradition, i.e., no factory or field, as domestics were customarily tied to a one to one employee-employer relationship. The massive development of a federally funded program, which provides in-home care to aged, blind, and disabled recipients, has placed more than 4,000,000 domestic workers under direct or indirect collective corporate and/or governmental control.⁶ Often, atypical employer-employee status relationships are developed in this arena by corporations and the government in order to avoid their obligations as employers in relation to the domestic workers. For example, the federal government subsidizes an in-home care program in each county. County governments set the wages, hours of work, time for the tasks done on the job, and have the ultimate capability to hire and fire, but they reject the employer status by attributing this status to the aged, blind, and disabled welfare recipients who receive the in-home care. Large corporations, such as Upjohn, compete for 300 million dollars of government contract money in the in-home care field.⁷ Large numbers of domestic workers are hired by the corporations under government contract, often on a piece rate basis, and with part-time status. Thus, the collectivization process implicitly, if not explicitly, is increasing within this particular lower stratum, now and for a time. It is interesting to note that the government, in reacting to the organizing of domestic workers in this newly collectivized arena, has attempted to retactize their approach by making the domestic worker an independent contractor, so as to again return to the atomization of the domestic worker labor force.

On the other hand, large industrial and commercial enterprises in the toy and clothing industry have moved to independent contractor relations of a small business character. Individuals purchase the required tools from the corporation and perform the work at home, thus removing the traditional factory worker-employer relationship from the arena and concomitantly, weakening existing unions and the unionization process. The National Labor Federation has been organizing independent contractors in the poorest

strata, who are in actuality employees, but whose employer has changed the worker's legal status relationship without the voluntary agreement of the worker.⁸

The social services arena, in particular, has many examples of conscious or semi-conscious restructatification which lead to wage cuts, and which increase the private and governmental sectors' control over the work force and the services. This process has been evident since the end of the Vietnamese War and the growth of the non-military portion of the federal budget, particularly health, education, and welfare. The areas of health, education, and welfare provide new sources of capital for private sector use, with little or no capital investment necessary by corporations. This is because the funds come directly from taxation sources, through government programs for the provision of social services. The main restructatification policies seem to stem from the need to lower wages in the United States generally, in response to the increased need for capital to come out of the United States itself, as other sources become more difficult to exploit, and as a result of those successful organizational efforts of workers in the past.



RESTRATIFICATION IN THE SOCIAL SERVICE SECTOR AND THE UNRECOGNIZED WORKER: AN EXAMPLE

The recategorization of strata in the social services arena is under the burgeoning control of the government. Generally, the provision of social services is based on the existence of low-income strata, in contrast to industrial production which thrives, in part, on the existence of higher income strata able to purchase products. The consumption end of the industrial production cycle provides a major source of capital, whereas in the social services sector, this is generally provided through taxation. The social service sector depends continually and directly on government derived capital, while the industrial production arena sporadically and/or indirectly depends on such capital. The government is therefore in almost complete control of the restructatification in the social services arena. In the middle 1970's, fiscal crisis has resulted in emphasis being placed on limiting the cost of government personnel, particularly those who are higher paid, and an increased emphasis on the use of non-profit and profit-making corporations to provide social services under government contract. The contracting system, as in other contracting arenas, provides new sources of capital for the private sector. The corporate necessity to maximize profits and decrease costs continues the acceleration of restructatification in the social services sector.

MECHANICS OF RESTRATIFICATION

Restructatification occurs through the introduction of lower strata workers into a portion of the labor force, such as the social service sector or the industrial sector, which replaces higher paid

workers in the sector.⁹ Frequently it is not only a process of introducing lower paid workers who replace higher paid workers, but these new workers find themselves involved in new and more difficult status arrangements with the employer. These new workers do the same or similar work either under civil service classifications or through a process of functional specialization; that is, they do the same work but are placed under a different type of worker status than the workers they replace. The higher income workers are either directly laid off or see their positions gradually eliminated through the insidious process of positional attrition, by retirement, and/or transfer of personnel.

Examples of the restratification process are presently in great abundance. Public Welfare presents a very striking illustration of this process. The original thrust of the restratification process in social welfare originates in the Reagan welfare reform manifesto, a booklet titled *TIME FOR CHANGE*.¹⁰ We are particularly familiar with this process because Sacramento County in California was used as the experimental model for this process. Our organizing efforts in Sacramento County, through the Western Service Workers Association and the California Homemakers Association, in 1973, gave us an early preview of the restratification process which has now become nationwide. At this time, one of the authors of *TIME FOR CHANGE* was the Sacramento County Welfare Director. The thrust of the Reagan Welfare Reform Program is now written into federal law and is a national program in all fifty states.¹¹ Its total effect in terms of our membership is a form of sophisticated slavery.

California, in the late 1960's, as elsewhere in the United States, provided welfare services on a case by case basis, with one worker, ordinarily called a "Service Worker," in charge of both the income needs and the service needs of the welfare recipient. By no means was this setup helpful to the recipient's well-being; however, things got much worse. The Reform Program, in partial response to the disruptive demonstrations of welfare recipients organized by

the Welfare Rights Organization, separated eligibility (money provision) from service provision. The ELIGIBILITY or money side dealt strictly with how much money one would get on welfare, and the SERVICES side with the particular service needs of a recipient, i.e., personal services that were legally mandated.

The separation of the service from the eligibility function had several consequences for the many workers and their wages in public welfare. Because service workers dealt with the problems of an entire family as well as their monetary needs, they were generally considered to need a high skill level. These service workers often held a master's degree in social work and were previously higher paid, earning between \$13,000 and \$17,000 per year.¹² With the separation of eligibility from services, a much larger portion of the total work force was placed on the critical eligibility side, and this became the major function of the welfare departments. The necessary skill on the eligibility side consisted of figuring out income and its relation to the amount of welfare for which an individual was eligible. The separation of services and eligibility had two major consequences. First, the eligibility workers could be paid less, actually from 50 to 60 percent of the service workers' salaries. Second, the caseload could be increased significantly, from a traditional social worker caseload of 60-80 recipients, to an eligibility workers could be paid less, actually from 50 to 60 percent of the service workers' salaries. Second, the caseload could be increased significantly, from a traditional social worker caseload of 60-80 recipients, to an eligibility caseload of 250-400 recipients. This process then enabled the government to reduce the wages of the welfare worker and, also, to reduce the number of workers necessary by increasing the caseload per worker.

The second step in the Reform Process was the specialization within the services side. Thus, services were divided up into such areas as child protective care, adult protective care, employment services, etc. The specialization of the services side produced a service function which was mainly clerical in nature; that is, referral

of cases to agencies other than the welfare department, such as foster care facilities, nursing homes, etc. The caseload of the service workers was dramatically increased, often as high as 400 cases, therefore necessitating less service workers and reducing the necessary skills in the job. This opened up the possibility of substituting a new strata of workers into the service side.

New categories such as "*Service Case Aides*" were developed under civil service classifications on the service side, with job specifications similar to and often more sophisticated than the master's degree social service workers. However, whereas the "*Service Case Aide*" did the same work as the service worker, they were paid between 25 percent and 35 percent (\$3,500-\$6,500) of the salary of the service worker.¹³ The higher paid workers were therefore laid off, or their positions terminated through attrition,



and their functions were taken over by much lower paid labor. This also happened on the eligibility side with the introduction of "*Eligibility Case Aides*." Most of the case aide workers made so little that most remained on welfare, because their income was not

sufficient to remove them from the welfare roles. Scores of these so-called "para-professional" job classifications now exist under Civil Service, with even lower salaries, such as "*Service Case Aide Trainee*" and "*Eligibility Case Aide Trainee*". Thus, in both the service and eligibility side, much lower paid workers were substituted for higher paid workers.

A similar process is occurring in the hospital system. Generally, three or four levels of nurses exist according to pay and skill: the RN (Registered Nurse), the LVN (Licensed Vocational Nurse), the Practical Nurse, and the "*Nurses' Aide*." Through the introduction of short-term training programs, the LVN's have taken on some of the functions of the RN's, the Practical Nurses have taken on the functions of the LVN's and the "*Nurses' Aides*," often former of present welfare recipients, take on the functions of the Practical Nurses or the LVN's. Fewer nurses are needed at the upper pay and skill levels, and the pay remains the same within each job category. Therefore, the average wage level within the hospital can be reduced.

Similarly, in education, "*Teachers' Aides*" are introduced into the classroom and take on some of the former functions of the classroom teacher, necessitating fewer teachers in the school. In addition, Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) workers have been used to take on many of the functions of the full-time government employees who are not CETA workers. This enables the local government to cease hiring regular or full-time employees in these functions, reducing both the wages and benefits necessary to pay workers. Those practices generally make traditional unionization more difficult in that different categories of workers are doing the same work but fall under differential pay and benefits and differential legal frameworks and control through government contracts. The introduction of temporary and part-time workers to do the same jobs as full-time workers creates similar difficulties. The use of temporary employees is becoming an increasingly common methodology in the delivery of services.

WORKFARE REQUIREMENTS

It was the third element of the Reagan Welfare Reform Program which enabled the consistent and coercive introduction of lower status workers into the social services arena to occur. This element is known as Workfare, that is, the requirement that a recipient of aid must sign up for work or training or be dropped from aid. The Workfare Program has been nationalized through the Talmadge Act Amendments beginning in 1973, and has gradually been put into effect in every state and county in the United States. The Talmadge Act Amendments stipulate that mothers on Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) — 12 million in the U.S. — with children 6 years of age or older, as well as other children in the family 16 years of age or older, are required to work or they are cut from aid. Not only are these coercive stipulations applied to work itself, but also to going into training programs, looking for work, and accepting it if offered, no matter what the conditions of work are or the wage rate. Under one of these programs called Community Work Experience Program (CWEP) the welfare recipient does not get a wage at all, but works solely for his/her welfare check. This constitutes a source of free or subsidized labor.

It might be added that the federal laws governing the Work Incentive Program (WIN) and CWEP have additional sanctions which harshly curtail the civil rights of those under its control. If an individual is rejected by an employer because of such things as long hair or bad attitude, the recipient can be required by the government to cut his hair or change his "attitude", lest he be cut from welfare. Therefore, much of the recipient's life on welfare is controlled by the particular capriciousness of the employer sector which invites this type of labor to their enterprises in order to reduce labor costs.

Interestingly, the workfare requirements do not only exist in the AFDC arena. Under federal law, aged, blind, and disabled recipients of Supplemental Security Income (SSI), food stamp recipients, medical aid recipients, and the General Assistance (GA) or General Relief (GR) recipients on the county and municipal level, all have eligibility requirements in order to continue on aid. Therefore, close to 30 million aid recipients are covered or directly affected by the workfare programs. A vast new labor pool is directly and coercively placed within the employment arena, adding to the already unemployed population. The entire category of employables, those on welfare and those not on welfare, may run as high as 40 million.¹⁴

RESPONSE TO ORGANIZING

Another example of a tactical response by the government to assuage or terminate organizing processes, and an important reason for the development of restratification, is the use of welfare recipients as workers in the welfare sector. The introduction of welfare recipients as workers in the welfare departments began as a provisional response to the disruption of welfare departments during the middle and late 1960's, primarily under the organizational auspices of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO). Initially, welfare departments solicited volunteers from the community who were on welfare and could presumably relate better to the "indigenous community people" than to the "middle class social workers." These community people were therefore given the so-called most difficult cases to deal with, i.e., the most disruptive on the one hand, and the most misunderstood on the other hand, in order to lessen the stress within the welfare department. This was later institutionalized into paid positions for these individuals, because it worked to diffuse the development of angry recipient responses. However, for the most part, these new "para-professionals" remained on welfare because their salaries were not sufficiently large enough to stay off welfare. This is still true of the

various categories of case aides, although their work is comparable to a worker who makes \$15,000 per year.

The general principles behind the previous analysis are as follows: average income is decreased within the workplace through the transformation of the functional roles of the workers from higher paid to lower paid workers, through the use of specialization which reduces the necessary skill levels, education, and formal training of the workers. The lower strata workers, who work and remain on welfare, are subject to a dual control system in relation to their work. One is in the workplace itself, and the other is through the welfare system. A welfare recipient who strikes, for example, can be thrown off welfare for not working. A welfare recipient who demands and wins higher wages, receives proportionally less than the wage increase, because a percentage portion of the wage increase is deducted from his/her welfare check.¹⁵ A welfare recipient may be removed from welfare because of a small or moderate wage increase, and lose other welfare valuables such as a medical card



or food stamps, which decreases his/her real income. The dual control inhibits organizing potential by blocking the unity between workers who are on welfare and workers who are not on welfare and by developing both implicit and explicit control of the worker on welfare by the government, as well as by the immediate employer who may or may not be the government.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTING SYSTEM

A fourth major element of the Reagan Welfare Reform Program which has been completely nationalized under Title XX, is the "*contract for services*" program and the treating of welfare aid as income. The contracting system is designed to get the public sector out of the provision of services. Social service provision is contracted out to private profit and non-profit corporations. Corporations now provide such services as in-home care (homemakers) to the aged, blind and disabled, foster care to children and employment services through manpower training programs. An extraordinary, although typical, example of this contract system in operation, and how it ties into workfare to provide the private sector with a source of cheap or free labor, is the practice of the Upjohn Corporation.

Upjohn, the pharmaceutical company, has a subsidiary called Upjohn Institute, which receives government contracts to provide manpower training. It trains unemployed workers and welfare recipients who work in other Upjohn subsidiaries. Upjohn has a subsidiary called Homemakers Upjohn Inc., which hires out aides, domestic workers, and nurses aides. Homemakers Upjohn receives government contracts for the provision of homemaker care for aged, blind, and disabled welfare recipients. Often these homemakers are welfare recipients themselves, who are funnelled into the job arena through the manpower training subsidiary. In addition, workers are funnelled into other Upjohn subsidiaries, such as their medical division in the hospital systems, also under govern-

ment contract, which uses nurses aides and LVN's and, finally, individuals are trained as laboratory technicians to work in Upjohn Pharmaceutical Co. All of these government contracted subsidiaries can do use welfare recipients and unemployed workers, who are placed through the various work training programs which are also under government contract. Thus, a source of cheap labor, coerced to work in many cases, is made available. It is interesting to note the California Homemakers Association is involved in the first strike against Homemakers Upjohn in Santa Cruz in opposition to this practice.

Additionally, under Title XX, welfare payments are considered as income for the purposes of assessing charges for a service that a welfare recipient should pay as a share of cost for the service. Each state is directed to develop a sliding scale, for each service. Thus, under the contract system, some of the welfare money, formerly paid directly for the survival of the recipient, will now be paid for services to a corporation under contract to provide the services. Title XX therefore, directly links the public and private sector through the pooling of joint monies. It is interesting to note that the linking of a strata of the public sector to the private sector is as accurate a scientific definition of fascism as has been developed to date. This may not be the intent of Title XX, but an objective clinical analysis of the practice emanating out of Title XX presents serious indications in that direction. Clinical fascism is not a moral indictment, or a political posture. It is, however, an indicative of direction in respect to potential future problems, located both within rival philosophies concerning the ultimate direction and purpose of tax monies, but also the separation of powers concepts implicit and implied within the constitution of the United States of America.

INCREASED CONTROL OF ORGANIZATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY

The thrust to place most or all services under government control, but without overt government participation, now a national plan under Title XX, includes the integration of churches, women's centers and other community organizations under government services, regulations and requirements. Those organizations which seek any county federal revenue sharing funds for services (as many service organizations in any locality do) find themselves confronted with the necessity of having to abide by the welfare eligibility requirements when providing their services. This includes both money eligibility as well as work and training requirements for those who seek services. This enables the government to deny services of all kinds to those potential or present recipients who do not abide by the work and training requirements set up for those who seek services. Thus, many or all of the voluntary, non-profit and profit-making service providers are coordinated under the direct control of the government at the same time the government is withdrawing from overt service provision.

The social services sector is a new source of capital for those large corporations who are based both in the service and production sector. Consistent with this funding process is that during the current fiscal crisis, instead of decreasing, the total federal allocations for services have slightly increased, although the amount going to labor has decreased. This is a result of the introduction of the profit-making corporations into the social services arena.

The contracting system between government and profit-making corporations has additionally reduced the hours of service provided to the recipient. In the in-home care field, fees of between \$5 and \$14 per hour are not uncommon. The worker receives \$2.30 to \$2.50 per hour, and the rest goes to the corporation, limiting the amount of hours the worker can work and the amount of services

received by the recipient. The contracting system, coupled with workfare and the introduction of low wage workers to replace higher paid workers, may reduce the numbers of unemployed in the short run and increase total employment. However, less money is going to more workers, decreasing the yearly pay of each worker. Thus, the process of recycling higher paid workers downward by the introduction of lower paid workers lowers the cross-class per capita income potential, as more workers share the total amount of money.

THIRD LABOR STATUS¹⁶

In addition, the new arenas of work developed through government programs contain labor status relations which are generally incompatible with traditional employer-employee status and, therefore, not viable unto traditional unionization of the National Labor Relations Act variety. The National Labor Relations Board has generally found that a government service contract in which the provision of services, the wages, and the actual tasks are explicitly delineated by the government in the contract, does not fall under NLRB or any other labor protective legislative jurisdiction. Examples of this are *Servomation*, which provides food machines in college and state government cafeterias and "*Upjohn-type*" corporations which contract to provide in-home care to the aged, blind and disabled. Therefore the contracting system in the service sector facilitates the movement of former government jobs into the private sector, but maintains a system where the benefits existent under the National Labor Relations Act or the various Public Employee Bargaining Acts do not apply to these workers. This opens up a third labor status within the United States, i.e. those workers who are not covered under either the benefits or the punishments of the NLRA or under the government bargaining laws. Whereas, traditionally many of the benefits of these laws such as recognition elections and protection against unfair labor practices have been doubled in their application, those not covered by

the laws are additionally exempted from the laws' real deficits which make illegal the ultimate right to strike, the use of secondary boycotts, mass pickets, the strike of one group of workers in sympathy with another — in sum, the arsenal of labor tactics developed during the 1930's and prohibited under the post World War II Taft-Hartley Act.

Recent proposals by the Carter Administration have pointed the way to a much more straightforward development of a flow of jobs from the public to the low paying private sector.¹⁷ Under the projected provisions of new government regulations outlined in May, 1977, individuals would be encouraged to accept jobs in the private sector for the minimum wage, and the government would subsidize the worker, with up to an additional \$2,000 of welfare from the government. Thus, benefit would not accrue to low-paid public sector employees. Thus, the private sector would gain cheap workers, directly subsidized through government tax monies, reducing the labor costs in the private sector, and therefore increasing their profits. In addition, the dual source of income, one part private, one part government, may result, as it has in other situations of welfare and wage mixtures, in workers being subject to sanction by the government if the worker struck or was fired for standing up to the employer, by the threat of or the actual withholding of the additional government welfare funds above the salary. Since the additional welfare money would be based upon the fact of receiving a low wage at a job, any interference with the flow of private wage connected money from the private source, probably would automatically involve the cutting of the public sector welfare subsidy. Again, in a new guise the government and the private sector may participate in the reducing of labor costs for the private sector and place the worker in a difficult if not illegal organizing framework.

This third legal status of workers, therefore, requires a new type of labor organizational structure which must fight a two-fronted battle against both the private and governmental sectors, facing the government as employer of last resort.

Service workers under the contracting system are but one part of the unrecognized worker strata excluded from labor laws and viable unionization under the present definition of unionization. These workers who form a third labor status within the labor force include farm workers, domestic workers, independent contractors, workers in small factories and stores, seasonal, part-time and casual workers, employed workers and welfare recipients introduced at the point of production through work and training programs such as WIN, CWEP and CETA, and unemployed workers who are potential employables.

Unemployed workers, in addition to falling outside the NLRA and the Public Employee Bargaining Acts, cannot, under current unionization mechanics, elect for recognition to bargain at the point of production. Welfare recipients who are potential job holders experience a similar exclusionary difficulty. Generally, the focus of gore jobs and aid, emanating from the needs of the unemployed and welfare recipients, does not manifest itself directly at the point of production. Neither contains immediate leverage because of exclusion at the point of production and, generally have to direct their struggle toward the political organs of the government, thus alleviating the potential struggle at the point of production. In some cases sympathetic unions may raise the job issue for unemployed workers at the point of production, but the actual participation of the unemployed in the union in order to sharpen the struggle and make sure their needs are projected is usually lacking. It is necessary to develop organizational vehicles which include the employed and the unemployed as well as welfare recipients and which can project their struggle at the point of production, with the help of their co-strata, co-organizational employed workers who can apply economic leverage.

STRATA ORGANIZING: THE NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATION

Organizing the strata of UNRECOGNIZED workers, the task taken on by the National Labor Federation, has so far demanded several new approaches. Our strata are made up of people who circulate through many job categories during the course of a lifetime or even in a single year. Sometimes our members work in the fields, sometimes at domestic work, in a car wash, at service work, in a laundry or restaurant, are unemployed or on welfare. Many of the jobs or statuses are part-time or temporary. A person who works in many occupational arenas may identify with either many occupations or a single occupation. This demands that organizational emphasis be placed on the entire strata. Poverty programs, educational systems, etc., have generally pulled from our strata the most beautiful, intelligent or healthy. Others have fallen into our strata, leaving the basic economic contours of the strata pretty much untouched. It is our aim to raise the economic well-being of our strata as a whole, including the unbeautiful, the uneducated, and the disabled. This demands the organization of the entire strata.

With these aims in mind, and because of the concrete legal exclusions which our people encounter, it was necessary to organize an association which developed deep roots within the community as a whole. The example below indicates a process usually undertaken by all of the organizing drives in which we are currently engaged.

ORGANIZING DRIVE BEGINS

In Sacramento, California, the seat of the state government, an organizing drive under the auspices of the California Homemakers Association and its parent organization, the Western

Service Workers Association, began in June of 1973. Its provisional aim was to organize a group of workers that represents the largest occupational category in the United States but which had never been successfully organized. These workers are domestic workers, numbering almost 4,000,000 workers nationally and 6,000 in Sacramento.¹⁸

Domestic workers are decentralized, they do not work in a factory or field. Therefore, in order to begin the organizing drive, it was necessary to seek out domestic workers by going door-to-door in the communities in which they live. This door-to-door canvassing is done every day, seven days a week. In Sacramento, as in all of our other organizing drives, this canvassing goes on continually. The organizing effort revealed that two major job categories existed within the domestic workers arena. One, those who provided personal and domestic care through the county's services money, and two, free-lance domestics. The "attendants", as the county domestics were called, numbered almost 2,500,



averaged \$139 per month, received no fringe benefits, disability, workmen's compensation, or an employment insurance, and many, particularly the ten percent who do live-in work 24 hours a day, received as little as 14 cents per hour. This work situation, financed by government funds, is probably one of the most exploitative work situations in the United States.

An initial stimulus for the organizing drive was the county proposal to contract out the attendant care program to UPJOHN Corporation's subsidiary, HOMEMAKERS UPJOHN. The County proposed to pay UPJOHN \$5.50 per hour to provide the services, and UPJOHN would pay the worker \$1.65 per hour for her/his work.¹⁹ Previously, the pool of money allocated to the in-home care program all went to labor. If the contract were to go through with almost \$4.00 above the wage paid to UPJOHN, it would both eliminate 1,000 jobs and cut the hours of care which recipients could receive in their home. The total cost of the program was almost million dollars. In response to this overt attack on poor workers and recipients, California Homemakers Association began its organizing

RECOGNITION AND BARGAINING RIGHTS WON

After nine months of struggle between June of 1973 and March of 1974, CHA, after organizing over 3,000 members to the Association, and stopping the corporations from moving in, forced the County of Sacramento to recognize the California Homemakers Association as bargaining agent for 2,500 attendant care workers.²⁰ This was the first time in history that domestic workers had won the right to bargain. The attendants were not defined as county employees by the County, they were not under civil service, and they were specifically, by name, excluded from the coverage of the National Labor Relations Act. Therefore, the only way in which recognition could be won was through the power and strength of

the Association, its membership, and its sympathetic supporters. The Board of Supervisors in Sacramento was confronted with an ever increasing outpouring of individuals who were threatening an action and threatening law suits at each successive Board meeting. Finally, on March 11, 1974, with 500 people in attendance, CHA won recognition. This was only the first step in a long battle.

ORGANIZING AND THE STRATA

During the initial stages of the organizing drive, the County had taken the position that the recipients who received the in-home care, and not the County, were the employers. CHA began organizing the aged, blind, and disabled recipients as members of the same organization as the workers: together they won the right of recognition, and CHA became their bargaining agent.

In addition, it was discovered that Sacramento County was being used as a model for the implementation of the new Reagan Welfare Reform Plan. We realized early that this plan would soon become national. It has now been put into national law in the Talmadge Act Amendments and Title XX. The initial theory behind the Reform Plan was delineated in a book called *TIME FOR CHANGE*. One of the six authors of this manifesto was Marvin Friedman, the Welfare Director of Sacramento County, who resigned during the course of CHA's struggle.

In summary, the reform plan included several basic features. First, if work and training requirements were instituted and not abided by, this would cause the welfare recipient and his/her family to be thrown off aid. A new concept called CWEP (Community Work Experience Program) was instituted. This program required a recipient to work for FREE or, in other words, for their welfare check and not a wage. Second, these individuals would be placed into arenas of work in the public sector. This would undermine the wage structure of the employed workers in the particular government agency and then actually displace them. Third, public and

private monies would be pooled under a contract system, whereby the government would remove itself from actual service provision and contract out services to corporations. This would enable the use of recipients and the unemployed, pushed through the work and training programs, as workers in both the public and private sectors. Title XX skillfully establishes this program nationwide. Our goal in Sacramento was to attempt to stop the Reagan Welfare Reform thrust and make it into a model of its opposite.

Thus WSWA-CHA began organizing the unemployed, as well as the already organized welfare recipients, into the same organization as employed workers. In many cases the worker was on welfare, or the recipient was placed at the work-place. Even in attendant care, the lowest paid occupation, the recipients were being used to undermine the pay of the attendants. The negotiation demands of CHA included not only worker demands, but demands of the unemployed and welfare recipients of all kinds.

The following additional example is interesting and is indicative of the possible MATERIAL RELATIONS which may be established in the organizing effort. In most counties there is a General Assistance or General Relief Program. These are for unemployed workers not eligible for any other form of aid; they have no children and are not disabled. The GA program in Sacramento provided an average of \$86 per month, barely enough on which to survive. In addition, the GA recipients were forced to work for their GA. As alternatives to being on GA some people were sent to seven work camps in California and received \$125 per month if they stayed six months. If they refused to go, they were cut from aid. Since most domestic workers do not receive unemployment insurance, their only alternative when they lose a job, which is extremely common, is General Assistance or AFDC (if they have children). One of the demands of CHA in their negotiations with the County was to raise the GA from \$86 per month to \$250 per month as unemployment compensation.

NEGOTIATIONS

The negotiation sessions were vicious, attended usually by over 50 worker participants who never let up their demands for a wage of \$3.89 per hour and many other benefits. It was obvious that the County was being pushed against the fiscal wall, and they consistently attempted to undermine the negotiations. Negotiations continued for over a year and one half. We had not expected much in negotiations and were committed to a much broader attack.

It was clear that the amount of money necessary for the situation would deprive other workers and recipients of their jobs or aid, so instead of cleaving off one group of workers who would temporarily benefit, albeit slightly, at the expense of other workers, our basic approach was to get more money into the labor end of the arena. The membership grew to over 6,000. The various categories of the welfare recipients, the unemployed workers, and the employed workers, all members of the Association, drew up a list of common demands and stipulations. The major demand, in addition to scores of secondary demands, was that the County turn over 50 million dollars to be used for jobs and aid. This 60 million was derived from the amount of money which the County received through the various federal revenue sharing programs, manpower, general assistance funds, and so forth, most of which were being used for land and buildings, but could be used for wages or aid.

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE UNRECOGNIZED WORKER

Therefore, the strata had a common set of demands based on material, rather than solely ideological, reasons. The trade unions were confronted with the fact that more and more of their members were being laid off. These former members found themselves under programs such as unemployment, and then GA or AFDC. The unions felt the pressure of their laid off workers. They at least

wanted to place a floor under these workers when they were laid off. WSWA-CHA had recruited many sympathetic ex-labor union members who often did volunteer work for the organization. CHA, with these members, went to all of the trade unions in the County and presented to them the set of stipulations and demands. The unions supported these demands and many, like the Longshoremen's Union membership, voted to provide aid in picketing and money. The union members, working with CHA, went back to their own unions and developed a sympathetic environment for the unification of the strata of organized, unrecognized workers along with the recipients of their care, and the trade unions. In addition, most of the community organizations which dealt with the poor or with social services were experiencing similar dilemmas in that the monies being provided for their services by the government were inadequate. Many of these organizations joined and supported the thrust. Presently, the consolidation and expansion of these alliances is taking place as a prelude for the introduction of strata demands. In this way, the organization of the unrecognized worker strata was used as a galvanizing process for the community and working people as a whole.

STRATA ORGANIZING IN MANY ARENAS

Strata organizing is being conducted among the farm workers in New York State under the auspices of the Eastern Farm Workers Association, joining together the seasonal farm workers who live in the community all year round with the migrant farm workers who move with the seasons and with the unemployed and those on welfare. Eastern Service Workers Association in New Brunswick, Princeton, and Atlantic City, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Rochester, New York, is following a similar pattern of strata organizing in unemployment devastated regions of the East Coast. New Brunswick, in particular, has become a prime organizing arena, as it reflects a massive destruction of the full-time work force, and a majority of its workers are either unemployed, on

welfare, or in temporary occupations, with little or no hope for labor redress through the traditional unionizing possibilities. Already over two thousand workers have joined together through this organizing drive. The seasonal workers in Southern Oregon, representing almost 80 percent of the work force, are being organized in a similar manner by the Northwest Seasonal Workers Association. These are examples of the processes used in organizing and why an analysis of the legal relationships of various strata to the government and its laws, and to each other, is so vitally important.



DAY-TO-DAY ORGANIZING AND SURVIVAL

In order to meet the day-to-day needs of our membership, each organizing drive has established with the membership and concerned community people a comprehensive benefits program. This program includes free dental care for the workers and their families. Medical centers were set up within farm worker and service worker arenas, such as the Riverhead Community Service Center on Long Island. Free legal advice is another benefit, and

several of the organizing drives have fully developed legal clinics which deal with both legal work and advocacy. Emergency food and clothing are part of the benefits program in all organizing arenas.

The day-to-day work of the organizing drive is carried on by full-time unpaid organizers, who receive room and board, and volunteers who live in the community. The organization receives no federal funding, and all money is raised from the community and sympathetic organizations. The organizing process, called **SYSTEMIC ORGANIZING**, trains members, students, and sympathetic individuals and creates a cadre of skilled organizers dedicated to the development of permanent solutions to the problems of the strata being organized.

Organizing drives are being projected for many areas in the Midwest and South. The organizing drives are reminiscent of the old CIO organizing drives, with the addition that a more comprehensive strata of workers is being organized under one organizational roof. History indicates that we have no alternative but to organize ourselves in this manner. As long as our strata exists, higher paid workers are in jeopardy, since our membership is central to the success of government sponsored programs which are undermining the wage structure in the United States. Our members *will* be organized, if not by us, undoubtedly under government auspices. As conditions grow worse for our people and for the work force in general, new opportunities open up to end this situation. Our associations follow the old adage, "*That when fate casts you a dagger, grasp it by the handle.*" We have no other alternative, it is our survival which is at stake.

SOCIOLOGISTS AND THE UNRECOGNIZED WORKERS

This paper is designed to identify, for the sociology profession, new vantage points from which to view theory and research which would be helpful for our people.

Sociologists have been helpful to our organizing drive in several material ways. We are introducing this analysis to the profession so that this help may be expanded. Individual sociologists have many different ways in which they may wish to relate to this struggle. The following are examples of areas in which sociologists may be helpful in organizing unrecognized workers.

THEORY AND RESEARCH

Concepts of Stratification in Relation to Organizational Change

The objective of a workers organization is to change the status of workers in their economic or practical relation to the point of production and, particularly, to address the logistical inequities in the distribution of means of survival. In analyzing stratification, it is therefore necessary to view it with an eye toward changing it. Stratification concepts which are solely descriptive in relation to economic, social, or political variables are insufficient, because they do not reflect the necessary variables which are viewed by an organization as points of address for change. Whereas the descriptors ordinarily used in stratification theory are helpful and necessary, they are not sufficiently useful for organizational development or intervention. Additional conceptual frameworks are necessary in viewing stratification in order to make sociological knowledge amenable to and available for use by people's organizations, in general, and workers' organizations, in particular. The following exposition cites several guidelines which could be useful to socio-

logists in order to begin additional stratification analysis and research which would have great use to our organization and others of a similar kind.

Legal-Status and the Strata

The analysis of legal standing regarding both existing laws which govern worker organizing and status relationships governing employer-employee relations may be depicted as follows. Generally, eight categories, under two headings, emerge as a beginning framework for analysis.

PRIVATE - NLRA		PUBLIC - Bargaining acts		
Recog	Unrecog	Recog	Unrecog	
O	X	O	X	ORGANIZED
O	X	O	X	UNORGANIZED

First are the Private Sector Workers: 1) those covered by the NLRA or other applicable legislation, 2) those uncovered, 3) those organized, and 4) those unorganized. Second are the Public Sector Workers: 5) those covered and 6) uncovered by the Acts, 7) those organized and 8) unorganized. These eight categories are not totally sufficient as we are confronted with workers who have dual employer status, no employer status, no viable employer status, independent contractor status, joint employer status, etc. A sociological analysis of these stratification variables would be useful in clarifying concepts for organizational usage. The X's are the arenas the National Labor Federation has organized and is organizing. The O's indicate the general arena of the chartered trade unions, i.e., de jure bargaining agents.

Economic Leverage

The second set of guidelines has to do with the degree of economic leverage or economic parity of a particular stratum in relation to the point of production. Objectively or logically descriptive criteria would be necessary for this analysis, as would be real life organizational attempts, their history, successes and failures. Do steel workers have more economic leverage than hospital service workers, clerical workers, the unemployed, domestic workers, or farm workers? What are the cross cutting variables which effect this leverage, such as arena of employment, previous organizational success, etc.? An analysis of different strata and their ability to unify in order to increase collective economic leverage is needed.

Interrelation of Different Strata

The third set of guidelines has to do with the inter-relationship of different strata of the working class in the actual organizing process. An example taken from the organization of domestic workers who provide in-home care for aged, blind and disabled recipients in Sacramento is instructive in this regard. The California Homemakers Association organized several thousand domestics in relation to the county program and, after nine months of struggle won recognition to bargain with the County for 2400 workers in the in-home care program - the first time domestic workers have won the right to bargain collectively. In the course of the struggle, the County attempted to pit the social service workers against the attendants by tying the social service worker jobs directly to the recognition struggle. The County threatened to lay off 190 of the 220 service workers if California Homemakers Association was recognized. The threat had a degree of reality, because the money to pay the attendants came out of the same pool of service funds which paid the service workers. Although the figures used by the County were totally incorrect, they scared the service workers union into a defensive posture vis a vis the recognition struggle of

the attendants. Talks were held between California Homemakers Association and the union representing the social workers in an attempt to develop a different approach to the situation. The objective was to insist that both these organizations fight for more money in the pool, rather than fight against each other for the limited funds. Since CHA had a past record of fighting against the layoffs of service workers, taking the position of low paid community residents who would suffer if services were cut and workers were laid off, there was some immediate precedent to which the attendant care workers organization could point in terms of its past principles position regarding the service workers. It was additionally pointed out how the union was being used by the County, as their only ally in the fight against these low paid attendant care workers. After the meetings, the social workers union came out for the recognition of CHA before the County, thus obliterating the thrust of the County in relation to the fear stories presented to the public and the social workers. Subsequently, the CHA position regarding the funds proved accurate, and CHA won recognition.

This example illustrates the effect of one strata of workers pushing up through organization, and how this may effect the possibilities for cross-strata cohesion and relationships based on a new consciousness of material relations between the two work forces that had not existed before the attendants were organized under the California Homemakers Association. Many other situations may be conducive to this type of development and should be analyzed so as to better develop organizing approaches which will unify workers, rather than divide them.

The incompleteness of these stratification formulation opens up new areas for sociological inquiry which would have definite usefulness for an understanding of people's organizations in their struggle for victory. It is from the change perspective that new theories of stratification need to be addressed. We request that the sociology profession begin to address itself to these types of for-

mulations so as to more materially attach itself to the struggles of those who need this information most.

PRACTICE

Several categories of aid would be of particular usefulness to the organizing drives and may, in addition, provide stimulating experiences to students, teachers, and researchers:

1. The provision of field work experiences in National Labor Federation entities to sociology students and sociologists. These placements are generally of two types, depending on the particular program, student status (graduate or undergraduate) and the orientation of the program.
 - a. Field placements from classes or formal placements delineated in certain programs which entail practical organizational work.
 - b. Field placements with the primary orientation on either descriptive or analytical research.
2. The development of interior programs which emphasize sociological frameworks consistent with goal-oriented organizing practice and with emphasis on expansion of the curriculum to include field placement possibilities.
3. The development of resources and personnel for data gathering and theoretical and conceptual work which is necessary for the positive accumulation of information useful for the organizational thrusts of NATLFED entities. This would include student-faculty research groups or consortia.
4. Various short term activities such as the development of speaking engagements, lectures, and fundraising events.
5. The participation in part-time or full-time organizing.

The National Labor Federation appreciates this opportunity to present its views to the Society for the Study of Social Problems and the American Sociological Association. Any ideas, criticisms, comments or assistance would be welcome. Please feel free to write us or visit one of our organizing drives in your area. *Thank you.*

NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATION

200 West 20th Street

New York, New York 10011

FOOTNOTES

1. The term unrecognized worker was developed to categorize a third status of workers in the United States who have not yet been recognized as necessitating the same rights and privileges as other workers who have been so recognized. See "More Decent Jobs and Aid...A LIVING NOT A DYING WAGE," *WORKFORCE*, Vocations for Social Change, Fall, 1975 for additional explanation.

2. The feeder plant system is a derivative of the government contracting system. Primary contractors sub-contract part of the original contract to another corporation to produce a part of the total object specified in the contract, such as rubber or plastic washers. These feeder plants are set up on a temporary basis, i.e. for the length of the contract, and recruit workers to a certain part of the country for a period of time, perhaps a year to three years. This makes organizing of the workers difficult because the terms of the sub-contract have already been fixed.

3. The decentralization process initiated under the Nixon Administration was operationalized through the distribution of monies to localities for their own use. Programs of social services were placed more concretely under local fiscal control, and the burden of cutting or increasing services fell more directly on the locality. In this way, the federal government relieved itself of some of the responsibility for the social services crisis within localities. In addition, the private sector appears to be accelerating a process of locating plants, such as the feeder plant type, in areas previously low in industrial development, in part, for tax advantages and in part, to open up sources of non-union and/or inexpensive labor.

4. One of the reasons for the lack of research in this arena, may be that funds for research, either from the public or private sector, have determined a large portion of the research that has been done by sociologists. The grantors have not addressed themselves to the unrecognized worker strata as a fundable area, worthy of exploration by sociologists. An interesting study could be conducted as to the effects of funding and how various areas are over- or under-studied. A similar type of bias and use of money which is of particular anguish to our members, has been the enormous poverty program funding, which has done little to aid our people, and much to damage organization potential.

5. The term restratification indicates the replacement of one strata of workers by another group of workers who do the same job but are lower paid and under a different set of laws, and/or the change in strata of the original group of workers by the reduction of salary and/or placement under a new set of laws. Restratisation relates at its core to a change in status, a change which has particular bearing on the potential for organizing. Thus, these status changes have associated legal ramifications as well as income ramifications. Over 8 million workers fall under the United States Department of Labor guidelines for those defined as in-home workers or privately hired workers working in a residence. The laws governing these workers, their potential legal benefits and legal organizing abilities are the same. However, these workers include gardeners, butlers, etc. in addition to domestics. Those who distinctly do what is defined as domestic work are divided into two major categories, and three subcategories related to the amount of time spent at the work. There are almost 300,000 domestic workers who care for aged, blind and disabled welfare recipients and who fall directly under government and private corporation control. In addition, the remainder of the 4 million domestic

workers do free-lance work. A large portion of these are also now directly under corporations. However, the remainder are directly affected by the wage rate and legal exclusions under government regulations which control the market wage by setting a maximum wage domestic workers can get through government service or private profit-making corporate service. Since a large part of the market is now under these auspices, the wages of the free-lance workers are competitively effected. Since the minimum wage under government regulation and the maximum wage under corporate control are almost synonymous, the wage structure is controlled and kept quite low. The three subcategories of domestic work, which make it difficult to ascertain accurately the total number of workers, are full-time domestic workers, part-time domestic workers and those who do work on call, or when in need of additional income. In addition, the laws covering domestic workers contain baby sitters in similar status position. Thus, if all the workers were included who fall within government exemptions under the personal service or in-home worker provisions, the numbers would run into the tens of millions. Baby sitters, are not, however, included in the figures we use. Sacramento County utilizes 2,500 domestic workers to care for 2,800 aged, blind and disabled recipients, while the State of California utilized approximately 65,000 domestics to care for 78,000 recipients.

7. The actual amount of money in the in-home care field is based upon need. This is one of the only open-ended programs of service in the United States. A fixed figure of 2.5 billion was allocated to in-home care. 75 percent from the federal government and 25 percent from the state. Three hundred million dollars is the national projection based on caseload population. Since California alone with ten per cent of the population has an in-home care allocation of 90 million, the national figures could be higher as of this date.

8. See John L. Erlich, "California Homemakers. The Domestic Workers Rebel," *The Nation*, Sept. 28, 1974 for further information on one particular example of an independent contractor struggle of the National Labor Federation.

9. The service sector is only one sector where restratification is taking place. Other examples not cited in the paper included the introduction of WIN welfare trainees into the auto-related feeder plants in the Detroit area and the introduction of WIN welfare trainee painters onto the Air Force bases in California to replace other painters, some of whom wound up on the WIN painter training program, and were retrained to work at their original job, but for a lower trainee wage.

10. *TIME FOR CHANGE* was a publication of the State of California and became the basis upon which the Reagan Welfare Reform thrust was formulated. See also "More Decent Jobs and Aid...A LIVING NOT A DYING WAGE," *WORKFORCE*, Vocations for Social Change, Fall, 1975 for additional information.

11. Title 20, which went into effect in October of 1975, and the various work and training legislation, such as the Talmadge Act Amendments, were literally described originally in *TIME FOR CHANGE*.

12. These figures come from the Social Service Workers category in Sacramento County in 1975. These ranges of course would vary from state to state.

13. See footnote 12, in application to the Social Service Case Aide category.

14. Most unemployment figures do not reflect the true unemployment rate, which appears to run about 2.5 times the official government rate. This has been

verified by a recent study in New Brunswick, New Jersey which indicated that at any one time almost 25 percent of the local population is unemployed and that, during the course of the year, about 43 percent of the population is unemployed at some time or other. In addition, in low income areas and in age brackets of 18-25, unemployment runs as high as 50 percent for the area and between 60-80 percent for the age group. If those truly unemployed, approximately 25 million individuals are added to the approximately 15 million potential employables under various welfare programs, 40 million citizens are potential employables - a stunning figure. See John Leggett, "Jobless Rate 24% in City-Study Reveals", *HOME NEWS*, June 23, 1976.

15. Federal regulations presently provide that a welfare recipient under Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), who works, may keep the income he/she makes based on a formula of 30 percent plus one third. If one makes \$100, which equals \$30 plus one third of the remainder (\$70), which equals about 23 more dollars, or a total of \$53 out of the original \$100. Thus the worker on welfare is working for a little more than \$1.00 per hour. If they ordinarily are being paid the minimum wage.

16. Third Labor status denotes an additional labor status to the two others, i.e., those covered under the National Labor Relations Act in the private sector, and those covered under the various Public Bargaining Acts in the public sector.

17. See *New York Times*, May 17 and 26, 1977, page 1 for a discussion of the Carter Administration's Welfare Reform Proposals.

18. See John L. Erlich, "California Homemakers: The Domestic Workers Rebel," *The Nation*, December 28, 1974, and "More Decent Jobs and Aid . . . A Living Not a Dying Wage," *WORKFORCE*, Vocations for Social Change, Fall, 1975, and footnote 6.

19. This was the bid placed by Upjohn Corporation, before Sacramento County in the summer of 1973. In other counties, such as San Francisco, corporations were receiving as much as \$8 per hour at that time. These days, \$14 per hour is not unheard of.

20. See *Sacramento Bee*, March 12, 1974, and John L. Erlich, op cit. .